WHAT THEY HIT

Tells the Facts and Names the Names

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WAR DIARY

The same weekend NATO planes celebrated May Day by blowing in pieces a busload of 49 Serbs, men women and children, CounterPunch was relayed this confidential assessment from a senior member of the US military at NATO HQ in Mons, Belgium. "The White House", said the officer, "is in a complete panic over this. They're desperate to get out."

Bill Clinton knows how to read polls. All agree on that. In the last days of April he saw the trend lines pointing down. Even the mad general Wesley Clark admitted the air war had done nothing towards its proclaimed objective: grinding down the Serb forces in Kosovo. Support for a ground war was melting away. In an amazing vote, radical Democrats lined up with the Republicans and forced a 213-213 tie vote, thus withholding congressional support for the war.

Hence the back-channel overture to Milosevic via the Reverend Jesse, with a desperate appeal to the Beast of Serbia that he give Clinton cover for the big climb-down, said cover being maybe that Serbia will allow a small NATO contingent in the international force assigned Kosovo to supervise partition, when the bombing stops. The other function of Jackson's mission was to head off any unpalatable negotiating with Slobo by Republican Rep. Curt Weldon, the Pennsylvania Republican, who was in Vienna after conferring in Moscow with members of the Russian Duma on terms for a deal.

The end is in sight. NATO has achieved none of its objectives. The hunt is on for a brokered solution, not too far removed from the deal that could have been struck with Milosevic before the bombing started. This does not mean the bombing will stop. The day after Milosevic released the three American POWs, NATO intensified its raids and readied B-52s for carpet bombing in a reprise of the Arclight sorties over Vietnam when hundreds of square miles of countryside were saturated with 500-lbs iron bombs.

LEFT OUT

At first the reaction of the anti-war left seemed very poor. Barely a twitch in the Bay Area in the first days of bombing, whereas at the start of the Iraq war demonstrators tied up the Bay Bridge almost at once.

But round the country there's been some spirited organizing and activity. In the Pacific Northwest, to take one region, one CounterPunch editor spoke to a lively audience at Humboldt State, all opposed to the war. CounterPunch readers David Messerve and Betsy Roberts contrasted the atmosphere handing out leaflets at the Arcata entry to route 101 in 1991, and today. Back then, they say, conservatives got back at the Arcata City Council (which had opposed the war) by putting up an enormous American flag next to the highway. This time Dave and Betsy saw the crusty old fellow—a local contractor—who had put up that flag and offered him a leaflet attacking the NATO bombing. He took it cordially, saying the US had no business in the Balkans.

As a general rule the pacifist, anti-war groups have been good and the human rights groups very bad. Amnesty International did issue a statement condemning the bombing of the tv station but conspicuously failed to denounce the bombing overall. Human Rights Watch has been bad. "Progressive" Bob Borosage was heard by a CounterPuncher saying on MSNBC something to the effect that it was good seeing the US use its force on the right side.

Most ironic of all has been the predicament of the long-planned Hague Appeal for Peace, scheduled to meet in The Hague in mid-May. As many as 4,000 have been predicted for the gathering, including foreign ministers from such countries as Ireland and Mexico, Queen Noor of Jordan, UN

(**War Diary** *continued on page 8*)

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"Cream Them!"

The Horrors of John McCain

The top war-monger in Congress has been Senator John McCain, Republican from Arizona, seeker of the Republican presidential nomination. In one rhetorical bombing run after another, McCain has bellowed for "lights out in Belgrade" and for NATO to "cream" the Serbs. At the start of May he began declaiming in the US senate for the NATO forces to use "any means necessary" to destroy Serbia.

McCain is often called a "war hero", a title adorning an unlovely resume starting with a father who was an admiral and graduation fifth from the bottom at the US Naval Academy, where he earned the nickname "McNasty". McCain flew 23 bombing missions over North Vietnam, each averaging about half an hour, total time ten hours and thirty minutes. For these brief excursions the admiral's son was awared two Silver Stars, two Legions of Merit, two Distinguished Flying Crosses, three Bronze Stars, the Vietnamese Legion of Honor and three Purple Hearts. US Veteran Dispatch calculates our hero earned a medal an hour, which is pretty good going. McCain was shot down over Hanoi on October 26, 1967 and parachuted into Truc Boch Lake, whence he was hauled by Vietnamese, and put in prison.

A couple of years later he was interviewed in prison camp by Fernando Barral, a Spanish psychiatrist living in Cuba. The interview appeared in Granma on January 24, 1970.

Barral's evaluation of McCain is quoted by Amy Silverman, author of many excellent pieces on McCain in the Phoenix-based New Times weekly. Here's how Barral described "the personality of the prisoner who is responsible for many criminal bombings of the people." Barral goes on, "He (McCain) showed himself to be intellectually alert during the interview. From a morale point of view he is not in traumatic shock. He was able to be sarcastic, and even humorous, indicative of psychic equilibrium. From the moral and ideological point of view he showed us he is an insensitive individual without human depth,who does not show the slightest concern, who does not appear to have thought about the criminal acts he committed against a population from the absolute impunity of his airplane, and that nevertheless those people saved his life, fed him, and looked after his health and he is now healthy and strong. I believe that he has bombed densely populated places for sport. I noted that he was hardened, that he spoke of banal things as if he were at a cocktail party."

"I believe McCain has bombed densely populated areas for sport", concluded Spanish psychiatrist Fernando Barral.

McCain is deeply loved by the press. As Silverman puts it, "As long as he's the noble outsider, McCain can get away with anything it seems — the Keating Five, a drug stealing wife, nasy jokes about Chelsea Clinton — and the pundits will gurgle and coo."

Indeed they will. William Safire, Maureen Dowd, Russell Baker, the New Yorker, the New York Times Magazine, Vanity Fair, have all slobbered over McCain in empurpled prose. The culmination was a love poem from Mike Wallace in 60 Minutes, who managed to avoid any inconvenient mention of McCain's close relationship with S & L fraudster Charles Keating, with whom the senator and his kids romped on Bahamian beaches. McCain was similarly spared scrutiny for his astonishing claim that he knew nothing of his wife's scandalous dealings. His vicious temper has escaped rebuke.

McCain's escape from the Keating debacle was nothing short of miraculous, probably the activity for which he most deserves a medal. After all, he took more than $100,000 in campaign contributions from the swindler Keating between 1982 and 1988, while simultaneously log-rolling for Keating on Captitol Hill. In the same period McCain took nine trips to Keating's place in the Bahamas. When the muck began to rise, McCain threw Keating over the side, hastily reimbursed him for the trips and suddenly developed a profound interest in campaign finance reform.

The pundits love McCain because of his grandstanding on soft money's baneful role in politics, thus garnering for himself a reputation for willingness to court the enmity of his colleagues.

In fact colleagues in the Senate regard McCain as a mere grandstander. They know that he already has a big war chest left over from his last senatorial campaign, plus torrents of pac money from the corporations that crave his indulgence, as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. Communications companies (US West, Bell South, ATT, Bell Atlantic), have been particularly effusive in McCain's treasury, as have banks, military contractors and UPS. They also know he has a rich wife and the certain knowledge that his supposed hopes for an ending to soft money spending will never receive any

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practical legislative application.

McCain is the kind of Republican that liberals love: solid military credentials as a former POW, ever ready with acceptable sound-bites on campaign finance reform and other cherished issues. Thus it was that McCain drew enthusiastic plaudits last year when he rose in the Senate chamber to denounce theinsertion of $200 million worth of pork in the military construction portion of the defense authorisation bill. Eloquently, he spoke of the 11,200 service families on food stamps, the lack of modern weapons supplied to the military, the declining levels of readiness in the armed forces. Bravely, he laid the blame at the doors of his colleagues: "I could find only one commonality to these projects, and that is that 90 percent of them happened to be in the state or districts of members of the Appropriations Committees." Sternly, in tones befitting a Cato or a Cicero, he urged his colleagues to ponder their sacred duty to uphold the defense of the Republic rather than frittering away the public purse on such frivolous expenditure: "We live in avery dangerous world. We will have some serious foreign policy crises. I am not sure we have the military that is capable of meeting some of these foreseeable threats, but I know that what we are doing with this $200 million will not do a single thing to improve our ability to meet that threat."

In the gallery, partisans of pork-free spending silently cheered while those who hoped to profit from portions of the $200 million gnashed their teeth in chagrin. Yet, such emotions were misplaced on either side. This was vintage McCain. Had he wished to follow words with deeds, he could have called for a roll-call on the items he had just denounced so fervently. That way the looters and gougers would have had to place their infamy on the record. But no, McCain simply sat down and allowed the offending expenditure to be authorised in the anonymous babble of a voice vote ("All those in favor say Aye"). Had McCain really had the courage of his alleged convictions he could have filibustered the entire $250 billion authorisation bill, but, inevitably, no such bravery was in evidence. Instead, when the $250 billion finally came to a vote, he voted for it.

This miserable display provides useful insights into the reason for McCain's ineffectiveness on issues such as campaign finance that have garnered him so much favorable publcity. A conservative Senate staffer offers these observations on McCain's fundamental weakness of character: "The real question is why this Senator did not use the strong leverage he has to insist that his 'ethical' position be incorporated into a major bill? After all, Senator McCain couched his concerns in issues of the highest national importance: readiness, modernization, and the military's ability to defeat the threats we face (whatever they are). "Pragmatism is the most commonly heard excuse. If McCain had made a pain out of himself in insisting on keeping the unneeded and wasteful pork out of the Milcon Authorization bill, some people would argue he would have lost comity with his Senate colleagues. They wouldn't respect him anymore; they would have been angry with him, because he kept them up late (it was about 10:30 pm), and they would have been embarrassed by his showing them up as pork-meisters. This would weaken his ability to get things done.

"This argument assumes politics in the US Senate is a popularity contest: if you want to get anything done around here, you have to go along and get along. Well, this place is a popularity contest, but it is supposed to be one with the voters, not one's colleagues. Besides, this place doesn't really operate that way. Here, they have contempt for fluffy show pieces. Show them you mean business, and you're someone who has to be dealt with (rather than a talk-only type), and you'll begin to get some results. Get ready for a fight, though, because they are some on the other side who are no push-overs. Obviously, Mr. McCain was not prepared to make that investment." ■

Harold Pinter on the Bombing of Yugoslavia

"We Are Bandits Guilty of Murder"

The British playwright Harold Pinter published a powerful piece against the war in the London Daily Telegraph. Some sample paragraphs.

The Government's mantra is: "We tell the truth. They lie." We are being spun and managed, and kept on message with the desperate assertion that this a replay of the Holocaust and Milosevic is Adolf Hitler. The trains on to which ethnic Albanians were forced did not lead to gas chambers but to Macedonia. I cannot see how you can compare "ethnic cleansing", which is essentially the expulsion of people from a given area, to the extermination of a race. But if you even question these assertions you run the risk of being called an appeaser or pro-Serb by Clare Short.

Let us probe some of our lies, such as the one given in writing on April 12 to the International Federation of Journalists that Yugoslav television would not be bombed. Ten days later it was, with the loss of some two dozen lives. As Nato "always tells the truth", these civilians had no reason to expect to die. This was justified by the Nato spokesman, Jamie Shea, because Belgrade television displayed "tolerance for brutality".

"Tolerance for brutality"—remember that phrase—remember it if this conflict continues to deepen, remember it if it lasts months or years. Tolerant Tony Blair shrugged off the deaths, there were no words of regret. Whatever one might say about Radio Television Serbia's ugly output, the Geneva Convention states quite clearly that only civilians directly involved in hostilities may be killed. The make-up girl who was killed wielded a powder compact, not a Kalashnikov.

So we are guilty not only of lying but of murder, and also hypocrisy. We rightly condemned the killing of the journalist Slavko Curuvija, who wrote things that Milosevic did not like. But Nato killed Belgrade media workers for saying things that NATO doesn't like.

Is it about getting the Kosovo Albanians back? No air war has ever worked without a ground assault, nor—if anything were left of Kosovo after a ground war—would a Nato protectorate be likely to help ethnic Albanians return. In nearby Bosnia, despite the presence of tens of thousands of Nato troops, only 78,000 of the 1.2 million people displaced by the war have been able to return to their homes.

These are the kind of facts we need to be thinking about. This is how we will come to understand that Tony Blair is leading us in a sanctimonious crusade that bestows a sheen of moral purpose but is fundamentally hollow. If we are not to be guilty of hypocrisy by tackling only Milosevic, we risk a permanent state of global war. Messrs Blair and Clinton will need to continue like humanitarian sharks, constantly swimming and gobbling up nasty little minnows as and when they decree. But no bigger fish like Turkey or China, please! Then we might really start having to look at ourselves.

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US officials should be investigated for war crimes

NATO's Targets & Body Count

Many of the targets listed here have been attacked in clear violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949, which prohibits bombings not justified by clear military necessity.

Under the protocols of the Convention, if there is any likelihood that the target has a civilian function, bombing is prohibited. In other words, the vast majority of the NATO targets have been criminally attacked.

The whole targeting strategy evolved against Iraq and now applied to Serbia and Kosovo, of destroying civilian infrastructure - bridges, railway stations, power stations, communications, tunnels - constitutes a war crime, or series of war crimes.

Lawyers in Britain plan to submit to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia evidence and an indictment requesting that the Tribunal hale before it prime minister Tony Blair, foreign secretary Robin Cook and defense secretary George Robertson.

In the United States, Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights tells CounterPunch, "US officials should certainly be investigated for the same crimes". The Center for Constitutional Rights lodged the suit brought by Rep Tom Campbell and 16 others, ranging from Democrat Dennis Kucinich to conservative Republican Phil Crane, asking the court to declare that President Clinton is violating Article One of the Constitution and ignoring the congressional vote of April 26, refusing to authorise the war. By May 25 the President will be in violation not only of the Constitution but also the War Powers Resolution of 1973, which mandates that unless the President gets congressional authority to wage war within 60 days, he must immediately terminate all use of armed force.

During the first month of the war, NATO planes and cruise missiles made over 10,000 attacks. More than 2,500 cruise missiles were launched and over 7,000 tons of explosives were dropped. The following list of targets is based on information provided by the Yugoslavian Foreign Ministry.

About 1,000 civilians, including 43 children, were killed and more than 4,500 sustained serious injuries e.g.:

- in Kursumlija: 13 dead and 25 wounded;
- in Panevo: 2 dead and 4 wounded;
- in Kragujevac: over 120 workers were wounded during an attack on the car factory "Zastava";
- in Vranje: two dead and 23 wounded;
- in Aleksinac: 12 dead and more than 40 wounded;
- in Nagavac village, Orahovac municipality: 11 dead and 5 wounded;
- in Pristina: 10 dead and 8 wounded;
- Grdelicka gorge: 55 killed and 16 wounded;
- attack on two refugee columns, with four cruise missiles, on the Djakovica-Prizren road: 75 killed and 100 wounded, of whom 26 critically;
- in the village of Srbica: 10 killed, among whom 7 children;
- Belgrade suburb of Batajnica: a three-year old girl Milica Rakic was killed, and five civilians wounded.
- in Nis: in the attack on housing flats one civilian was killed while 11 wounded;
- in Pristina: in the attack on a Provisional Executive Council building in the suburb Grmija, one civilian was killed while 2 wounded;
- in Djakovica: in the attack on a refugee settlement housing Serb refugees from the Republika Srpska Krajina (Croatia), 10 refugees were killed and 16 wounded;
- in Belgrade: in the attack on the Radio Television of Serbia office building, 15 employees have been killed and 17 wounded;

After the demolition of the Petrovaradin bridge, the water supplies to Novi Sad and Petrovaradin were cut, leaving about one million citizens short of water. About 500,000 workers are jobless due to the destruction of industrial facilities. Two million citizens have no means for living and cannot ensure the minimum for existence.

Preliminary estimates indicate that NATO air strikes have incurred damages in excess of $10 billion. In the territory of the northern province of Vojvodina alone, damages have been estimated in excess of $3.5 billion dollars.

TRAFFIC

The road and railway networks, especially road and rail bridges, most of which were destroyed or damaged beyond repair, suffered extensive destruction. The targets of attacks were such communications as:

BRIDGES:

1. The Varadin Bridge over the Danube ;
2. The "Sloboda" (Freedom) Bridge over the Danube;
3. The "Zezeljov" Bridge in Novi Sad;
4. The bridge over the Ibar river, Biljanovac municipality ;
5. The bridge over the Vrba.ka river near Jezgrovic;
6. The "Lozno" railway bridge near Usfe;
7. The road bridge on the road leading to Brvenik, near Usce;
8. The bridge near Zubin Potok, on the Kosovska Mitrovica - Ribarice road;
9. The old bridge on the river Rasina near the town of Krusevac;
10. The new bridge on the river Rasina near the town of Krusevac;
11. The Krusevac-Pojate bridge on the river Zapadna Morava, at the village of Jasika;
12. The railway bridge on the river Lim, between Priboj and Prijepolje, near hydroelectric power station Bistrica;
13. The bridge on the river Ibar, at the village of Brvenik, linking Korlace and Raska;
14. The bridge between Smederevo and Kovin;
15. The railway bridge on the river Kostajnica, near Kursumlija;
16. The bridge over the regional Kursumlija -

``When they allow public traffic over these bridges, they risk a lot of lives of their public citizens", said NATO's Col. Konrad Freytag.

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Paul Wellstone: *"If military action is truly a last resort; if we have a reasonable chance of success; if our response is proportionate to the provocation; and if our intention—to bring an end to the sickening violence there and to force the parties to come to an agreement on their future—is justified, I believe it is our duty to act. In this case we cannot shirk our responsibility to act."*

Prokuplje road;
17. The bridge over the river Vrapcevska Reka near the village of Ribarice, from the direction of Kosovska Mitrovica;
18. The bridge over the railway track on the regional road near Biljanovac-Mt. Kopaonik;
19. The railway bridge near the village of Rudnica in the vicinity of Raska, on the Kraljevo/Kosovo Polje railway line;
20. The bridge over the Danube along the Beograd-Novi Sad road, near Beska;

RAILWAYS :
1. The Kraljevo - Kosovo Polje rail, near Ibarska Slatina;
2. The Belgrade - Bar rail, due to the destruction of the railway track near the village of Strbce and destruction of the bridge on the river Lim, between Priboj and Prijepolje;
3. The Kursumlija - Prokuplje rail, near Pepeljevac village;
4. The Kraljevo - Kosovo Polje rail, near Ibarska Slatina;
5. The Nis - Pristina rail, near Kursumlija;
6. "Sarpelj" tunnel, near Jerinje village, 15 km north of Leposavic towards Raska, was destroyed;
7. Railway station in Kraljevo (Bogutovac);
8. Railway station in Kosovo Polje;
9. The Belgrade - Thessaloniki rail, due to the destruction of the bridge in the Grdelica gorge;
10. Railway station in the town of Biljanovac;
11. Railway track and overpass (Josinacka Banja) near the town of Biljanovac;
12. Railway track Kursumlija - Podujevo, due to damages on the railway bridge at Kursumlija; 13. Railway track Kraljevo - Kragujevac, due to damages to the section of the track near the village of Vitanovac;
14. Railway track Uzice - Priboj:
15. Railway track Bogojevo - Vukovar;
16. Railway Track Leskovac - Predejane;

ROADS:
1. Ibarska primary road, due to damages to the bridge on the Ibar river, Biljanovac municipality, and destruction of the road between Pozega and Cacak;
2. Belgrade-Zagreb highway, near Stari Banovci;
3. Traffic suspended on the Kosovska Mitrovica-Ribarici section of the Adriatic highway due to the destruction of the bridge over the Vrbacka river;
4. "Jedinstvo" bus station in Vranje sustained extensive damage;
5. "Kosmet Prevoz" transporter in Gnjilane (a hangar full of new buses);
6. Kraljevo-Raska primary road;
7. Bus station in Pristina;
8. Traffic has been suspended on the Krusevac-Pojate road due to the destruction of the bridge on the Zapadna Morava, in the village of Jasika;
9. Traffic has been suspended on the Nis-Pristina road, due to the fact that the bridge on the river Toplica, near the town of Kursumlija, has sustained heavy damage;
10. Traffic has been suspended on the regional road Priboj - Prijepolje - Nova Varos, due to damages inflicted on the bridge "Raskrsnica" near Donja Bistrica;
11. Road maintenance company "Magistrala" in Pristina;
12. Nis Central Bus Station;
13. Pristina Bus Station;

AIRPORTS:
1. "Slatina" in Pristina;
2. "Batajnica" and "Surcin" in Belgrade; Nis airport;
3. "Ponikve" in Uzice;
"Golubovac" in Podgorica, "Ladjevci" airport near Kraljevo; agricultural and sports airfield in Sombor.

ECONOMIC AND CIVILIAN TARGETS, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

The air strikes have so far destroyed or damaged several thousand economic facilities and dwellings. In the Leskovac region alone, over 3,500 industrial facilities and dwellings were either destroyed or damaged.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE:

The NATO attacks have targeted the factories and industrial facilities which directly cater to the needs of the population, including:
1. "Galenika" drug factory in Belgrade;
2. Industrial complex "Dvadeset Prvi Maj" in Rakovica;
3. Machine building plant "Industrija Motora Rakovica" in Rakovica;
4. Factory "Jugostroj" in Rakovica;
5. Factory "Frigostroj" in Rakovica;
6. "Lola Utva" agricultural aircraft factory in Pancevo;
7. "Zdravlje" pharmaceutical plant in Leskovac;
8. "Sloboda" white goods factory in Cacak;
9. "Din" tobacco industry in Nis;
10. "Elektronska industrija" factory in Nis;
11. "Jastrebac" machine industry in Nis;
12. Facilities of the "Beograd" rail company in Nis;
13. Construction material depot "Ogrev Invest" in Nis;
14. General merchandise depot "Kopaonik" in Nis;
15. Production line of the tobacco factory "Nis" in Nis;
16. "Elektrotehna" warehouse in Nis;
17. Food storage facility "Fidelinka" in Nis;
18. Facilities of the machine industry in Nis;
19. Office building of the

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Barney Frank: *I know some people argue that we should not have undertaken the bombing because there was no guarantee it would succeed. I disagree with this. I do think it is valid for a nation to try a policy even if we are not sure it will succeed.*

company "So Produkt" in Nis;
20. The pharmaceutical company "Velafarm" in Nis;
21. "Zastava" car factory in Kragujevac;
22. "14 Oktobar" machine factory in Krusevac;
23. Production line of the metal factory "Metalac" in Kursumlija;
24. "Krusik" holding corporation in Valjevo;
25. "Ciklonizacija" in Novi Sad;
26. "Tehnogas" in Novi Sad;
27. "Novograp" in Novi Sad;
28. "Gumins" in Novi Sad;
29. "Albus" in Novi Sad;
30. "Petar Drapsin" in Novi Sad;
31. "Motins" in Novi Sad;
32. "Izolacija" in Novi Sad;
33. "Novokabel" in Novi Sad;
34. "Istra" fittings factory in Kula;
35. The port of Bogojevo;
36. "Div" cigarette factory in Vranje;
37. "Nova Jugoslavija" printers in Vranje;
38. Furniture factor "Simpo" in Vranje;
39. Textile industry "Jumko" in Vranje;
40. Wood-processing complex "27. November" in Raska;
41. Tubes factory in Urosevac;
42. "Milan Blagojevic" chemical plant in Lucani;
43. Plastics factory in Pristina;
44. Cotton yarn factory in Pristina;
45. Shock-absorber factory in Pristina;
46. Surface coal mine "Belacevac";
47. "Binacka Morava" hydro construction company in Gnjilane;
48. Cigarette factory in Gnjilane;
49. Battery factory in Gnjilane:
50. Over 250 commercial and crafts shops in Djakovica were destroyed;
51. "Dijana" shoe factory in Sremska Mitrovica;

REFINERIES AND WAREHOUSES
1. Fuel storage in Lipovica, which caused a great fire in the Lipovica forest;
2. "Beopetrol" storage in Belgrade;
3. "Beopetrol" storage in Bogutovac;
4. Fuel storage of the boiler plant in Novi Beograd;
5. Chemical plant "Prva Iskra" in Baric - destruction of the production line;
6. Oil refinery in Pancevo - totally demolished;
7. Petrochemical industry "DP HIP PETROHEMIJA" in Pancevo - totally demolished;
8. Fertilizer plant "DP HIP AZOTARA" in Pancevo - totally destroyed;
9. "Jugopetrol" installations in Smederevo;
10. Thermo electric power station/boiler plant in Novi Sad;
11. Oil Refinery in Novi Sad, storage of bitumen;
12. "Jugopetrol" storage in Sombor;
13. Fuel storage "Naftagas promet" which is located 10 km from Sombor;
14. Naftagas warehouse between Conoplje and Kljaicevo (Sombor);
15. "Beopetrol" fuel storage in Pristina;
16 Jugopetrol warehouse in Pristina;
17. Jugopetrol petrol station in Pristina :;
18. Fuel depot in Gruua, near Kragujevac;

AGRICULTURE:
1. PIK "Kopaonik" in Kursumlija;
2. PIK "Mladost" in Gnjilane;
3. Agricultural complex "Malizgan" in Dolac;
4. Agricultural complex "Djuro Strugar" in Kula;
5. Agricultural and food-processing plant and a cow-breeding farm with 220 milk cows "Pester", in Sjenica, has been destroyed;
6. In fires caused by NATO cruise missiles and bombs over 250 hectares of forests have been burned down;
7. Several thousand hectares of fertile land, many rivers, lakes and underground waters have been polluted due to the spillage of petrochemical substances, oil spills and slicks;

HOSPITALS AND HEALTH CARE CENTRES:

NATO air strikes also targeted many hospitals and health-care institutions, which have been partially damaged or totally destroyed, including:
- Neuropsychiatric Ward "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" and Central Pharmacy of the Emergency Centre in Belgrade;
- "Sveti Sava" hospital in Belgrade;
- Army Medical Academy in Belgrade;
- Gynaecological Hospital and Maternity Ward of the Clinical Centre in Belgrade;
- Health Care Centre in Rakovica;
- Hospital and Medical Centre in the territory in Leskovac;
- Gerontological Centre in Leskovac;
- Hospital and Poly-clinic in Nis;
- General Hospital in Djakovica;
- City Hospital in Novi Sad;
- Medical Centre and Ambulance Centre in Aleksinac;
- Medical Centre in Kraljevo;
- Dispensary on Mount Zlatibor;
- City hospital in Valjevo;
- Dispensary "Krusik" in Valjevo;
- Hospital for treatment of dystrophia in Novi Pazar;
- Health Care Centre in Kursumlija;

SCHOOLS

Over 200 schools, faculties and facilities for students and children were damaged or destroyed (10 collages, 45 secondary and 90 elementary schools, 8 student dormitories, as well as a number of kindergartens), including:
- Elementary schools "16. oktobar" and "Vladimir Rolovic" in Belgrade;
- Day-care centre in settlement Petlovo Brdo in Belgrade;
- Elementary school and Engineering secondary school centre in Rakovica;
- Two secondary schools in the territory of Nis;
- Faculty for construction and architecture in Nis;
- Faculty for machine-technical studies in Nis;
- Faculty for electro-technical studies in Nis;
- Faculties of Law and Economics and elementary school "Radoje Domanovic" in Nis;
- Elementary schools "Toza Markovic", "Djordje Natosevic", "Veljko Vlahovic", "Sangaj" and "Djuro Danicic" and a day-care centre "Duga" in Novi Sad and creches in Visarionova Street and in the neighbourhood of

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Sangaj; Traffic School Centre, Faculty of Philosophy;
- Four elementary schools and a Medical high school in Leskovac;
- Elementary school in Lucane, as well as a large number of education facilities in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija;
- Elementary schools in Kraljevo and the villages of Cvetka, Aketa and Ladjevci;
- Four elementary schools In Sombor;
- School center in Kula;
- Agricultural school in Valjevo;

PUBLIC AND HOUSING FACILITIES
- The residence of the President of the FR of Yugoslvia in Belgrade, sustained heavy damage;
- Severe damage to the facilities of the Republican and Federal Ministry of the Interior in Belgrade,
- Damage to the building of the Institute for Security of the Ministry of the Interior in Banjica;
- Severe damage to the TV RTS studio in Pristina;
- Heavy damage to Hydro-Meteorological Station at Bukulja;
- Post Office in Pristina destroyed;
- Refugee centre in Pristina destroyed;
- "Tornik" ski resort on Mount Zlatibor;
- "Divcibare" mountain resort;
- "Baciste" Hotel on Mount Kopaonik;
- City power plant in the town of Krusevac;
- Meteorological Station on Mount Kopaonik damaged;
- Four libraries in Rakovica sustained heavy damage;
- Refugee camp "7 juli" in Paracin has sustained heavy damage;
- Office building of the Provincial Executive Council of Vojvodina,

Bernard Sanders: *At this point I support the NATO sponsored airstrikes that are currently taking place.*

Novi Sad ;
- Hotel "Mineral" in Bogutovacka Banja;
- Office building of the power distribution board "Elektrodistribucija" in Kursumlija;
- Hotel "Putnik" on Mt. Kopaonik;
- "Usce" Business center in Belgrade;
- Refugee camp "Majino naselje" in Djakovica;
- Radio Television of Serbia office building in Belgrade;
- Youth and children centre in Belgrade;
- Youth theater "Dusko Radovic" in Belgrade;
- Post Office in Nis;
- Several thousand housing facilities damaged or destroyed, privately or state owned, across Yugoslavia -the most striking examples being housing blocks in downtown Aleksinac and those near Post Office in Pristina.

INFRASTRUCTURE:
- Damage to a power supply transmitted in Batajnica;
- Damage to water supply system in Zemun;
- Damage to a power supply transmitter in Bogutovac;
- Telephone lines cut off in Bogutovac;
- Damage to a power station in Pristina;
- Damage to Bistrica hydro-electric power station in Polinje;
- Damage to electric power transmission lines and distribution network in the zone under air stikes by NATO enemy aircraft;
- Destruction of power supply transmitters in Belgrade suburbs of Resnik and Zemun Polje;

TV & RADIO STATIONS
1. Jastrebac (Prokuplje)
2. Gucevo (Loznica)
3. Cot (Fruska Gora)
4. Grmija (Pristina)
5. Bogutovac (Pristina)
6. TV transmitter on Mt Goles (Pristina)
7. Mokra Gora (Pristina)
8. Kutlovac (Stari Trg)
9. "Cigota" (Uzice)
10. "Tornik" (Uzice)
11. Transmitter on Crni Vrh (Jagodina)
12. Satellite station "Yugoslavia" (in Prilike near Ivanjica)
13. TV masts and transmitters (Novi Sad)
14. TV transmitter on Mt Ovcara (Cacak)
15. TV transmitter in Kijevo (Belgrade)
16. TV transmitter on Mt Cer
17. Relay on Mt Jagodnji (Krupanj)
18. TV transmitter "Iriski Venac" (Fruska Gora)
19. TV relay on Mt. Bukulja;
20. Transmitter in Gazimestan (Pristina);
21. RTV transmitter in Krnjaca (Belgrade);
22. RTV transmitter on Mt. Gobelj (Mt. Kopaonik);
23. RTV transmitter on top of the business centre "Usce" used by RTV

Kosava, RTV Pink, SOS channel, TV BK and Radio S (Belgrade);

MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES AND RELIGIOUS SHRINES:
1. Monastery Gracanica from 14th century;
2. Monastery Rakovica from 17th century ;
3. Patriarchate of Pec;
4. Church in Jelasnica near Surdulica;
5. Monastery of the Church of St. Juraj (built in 1714) in Petrovaradin;
6. Monastery of Holy Mother (12th century) at the estuary of the Kosanica in the Toplica territory;
7. Monastery of St. Nicholas (12th century) near Kursumlija;
8. Monastery of St. Archangel Gabriel in Zemun;
9. Roman Catholic Church St. Antonio in Djakovica;
10. Orthodox cemetery in Gnjilane;
11. Monuments destroyed in Bogutovac;
12. "Kadinjaca" memorial complex;
13. Vojlovica monastery near Pancevo;
14. Hopovo monastery, iconostasis damaged;
15. Orthodox Christian cemetery in Pristina;
16. Monastery church St, Archangel Michael in Rakovica;
17. Orthodox church St. Marco in Belgrade;
18. Russian Orthodox church Holly Trinity in Belgrade;

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND MUSEUMS:
1. Severe damage to the roof structure of the Fortress of Petrovaradin;
2. Heavy damage to "Tabacki bridge", four centuries old, in Djakovica;
3. Substantial damage to the building in Stara Carsija in Djakovica;
4. Destroyed archives housed in one of the Government buildings in Belgrade;
5. Memorial complex in Gucevo (Loznica);
6. Memorial complex "Sumarice" in Kragujevac;
7. Vojvodina Museum in Novi Sad;
8. Old Military Barracks in Kragujevac - under the protection of the state;
9. Memorial complex Crveni Krst in Nis. ■

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(**War Diary** *cont. from page 1*)

General Secretary Kofi Annan, a passel of Nobel Peace prize winners (though probably not Henry Kissinger). A press release announced that the Appeal "will bring together under one roof the advocates of campaigns already under way to stop the use of child soldiers, ban the traffic in small arms, abolish nuclear weapons, ratify the statute of the International Criminal Court and eliminate the vestiges of colonialism".

A big wish list to be sure. Alas, the Hague Appeal has thus far been unable to muster the will to denounce the war in actual progress on the other side of Europe. CounterPunch hears that although Cora Weiss, one of the prime movers behind the Appeal, is quite ready to issue just such a statement, the World Federalist Movement has been blocking an overall condemnation. CounterPunch's editors must admit to an antipathy to the Federalists, not the least because of the Movement's zealotry in favor of an International Criminal Court, an entity for which we entertain a hearty dislike.

We're glad to report that Moscow-based Matt Taibbi and Mark Ames, featured in our last issue, held an "Americans Against NATO" demonstration outside the US embassy there.

Sour Krauts

The war emptied Kosovo of most Albanians and failed to cow the Serbs. It is also beginning to have a seismic effect on the political landscape of Western Europe, where almost all the ruling war-mongering parties are social democratic. Even here its tremors can be felt, not just in Littleton but also in Washington DC.

It seems quite likely that the Social Democrat/Green coalition governing Germany will fall apart, as the leaders of these parties are forced to react to fury at the war among many of their party members.

This is not to say that there aren't large numbers of German Social Democrats and Greens who don't heartily endorse this reprise of Hitler's invasion of Serbia, but particularly among the Greens there are also thousands of embittered people who do not find it easy to forget that their party is committed to peace, and who are not happy to see the Luftwaffe in action again.

British interest in, and enthusiasm for, the war has been undercut by the murder on her own doorstep of Jill Dando, a popular broadcaster whose "Crime Watch" show about Britain's Most Wanted had a huge following. The upscale Guardian ran 3 full pages on the killing, and the more demotic Daily Mail no less than 8. One early report in the British press speculated that a mad Serb may have been the killer.

War-Hating Right

Here in the US we're having to redraw the political maps. Leftist opponents of the war such as ourselves now march shoulder to shoulder with Chuck Colson, Barry Farber, Don Feder, Bob Grant, Bob Novak, Arianna Huffington, A.M. Rosenthal, Charles Krauthammer, Edward Luttwak, Oliver North, Joe Sobran and the Pope. We never thought we'd ever be on the same side as Don Feder, a fierce right-winger who writes columns for the Boston Herald.

We'll say this for conservative columnists like Novak or Feder: when they turn against a war, they do it right. In one column Bob Novak lashed out at NATO, excoriating liberal warmongers and reaching back in literary history to the social democrat H.G. Wells' Shape of Things to Come, where Britain is liberated from enemy occupation by an international armada. Novak also evoked Sumner Welles, FDR's Secretary of State, who thought bombers should be the weapon of an international police force.

Try this from Feder: "It's argued that now that we're in the conflict, America must win it to remain credible. By 1973, we had lost 55,000 Americans in Vietnam, which gave us far more of a stake there than we have in Kosovo.

"If we'd applied this do-or-die logic to the war in Southeast Asia, we would still be slugging it out in the rice paddies and the Vietnam memorial would be a far more imposing structure.

"I know, I know, if we don't take Belgrade and display Milosevic naked in a cage, malefactors and evildoers from Baghdad to Pyongyang will view us as a paper tiger.

"But if I were Saddam Hussein, Kim Jong Il or the Chinese politburo, I'd like nothing better than to see America wasting its limited military resources (very limited, thank to our anti-defense commander in chief) in the Balkans.

"Think of how thrilled Hitler would have been if, in the spring of 1939, England had decided to begin bombing Liechtenstein.

"NATO cannot survive if it now abandons the campaign without achieving its objective, insists Henry Kissinger.

"Who says NATO has to survive? Half of a century after NATO's birth, the Iron Curtain is a rust heap. Eastern Europe and the Baltic states are free. So, why NATO?

"Presumably, if NATO loses credibility, it will limit the alliance's ability to pull us into future abysses. Wouldn't that be a pity?

"The armed forces of the United States aren't the legions of the Roman Empire. The soldiers of a republic shouldn't be walking endless foreign battlements in a deranged and futile attempt to enforce a pax Americana."

It takes a robust Republican to throw NATO into the trashcan. Liberals never talk like that. For them, talking dirty about NATO is like attending a baptism and spitting in the font.

Even before the bombing has ended, the next war has begun: the war to fix blame.

The most useful parable about progressives is that offered by Bernard Sanders, self-styled "socialist progressive independent" rep from Vermont. Sanders owes his political career to rage against the Vietnam war among radicals, many of whom moved into the state in the early 1970s. They forthwith planned a long-term, carefully organized, assault on the Vermont's two-party structure. Sanders linked his political ambitions to this effort to organize a third force, the Progressive Alliance. He became mayor of Burlington and, later, congressman. At a rapid clip the emphasis moved from party-building to Sanders-building. At least five years ago it was apparent that the only movement B. Sanders was interested in was that of liberal money into his political campaign trough. One disgusting political piece of opportunism followed another, always forgiven by Vermont pwogwessives who are frightened of Sanders and fear to speak out against the loud-mouth fraud, even though, last year, Sanders spoke vehemently in Congress in favor of sending his state's nuclear waste into a poor, largely hispanic, township in Texas called Sierra Blanca. He supported sanctions against Iraq which have killed over a million Iraqis, many of them children.

Then he voted in favor of this war. He did it once, he did it twice and on April 28, he did it again. This was the astounding

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213-213 tie vote, which meant that the House of Representatives repudiated the war on Serbia launched by Clinton in violation of Article One of the US Constitution which reserves war-making powers to Congress. So if the "socialist-progressive"Sanders, who owes his entire career to antiwar sentiment, had not voted for the NATO bombers, the result would have been even more dramatic, a straight majority for the coalition of Republicans and radical Democrats such as Dennis Kucinich, Cynthia McKinney, Barbara Lee, Pete Stark and a handful of others.

On April 26, even before his most recent vote of shame, Sanders' office was occupied by 15 radical Vermonters sickened by his crap. The last time any political rep from Vermont had an office occupied was when a group later known as the Winooski 44 sat in (Republican) Senator Robert Jeffords' office in 1984, protesting Reagan's War in Central America. Jeffords waited three days before asking the police to remove the protesters. Sanders waited four hours. On Monday May 3, he held a town meeting in Montpelier attended by the 15 protesters, wearing chains. The man in Sanders' Burlington office who told the protesters Sanders wouldn't speak to them was Philip Fiermonte, ironically one of the Winooski 44.

Readers of the Washington Post first edition can be forgiven if they missed the historic House vote refusing to approve the bombings. At first the Post reported the vote coyly on page A27. In the late edition the Post still played down the vote. The New York Times had a better sense of news and history and put the vote on its front-page, above the fold: "Deadlocked House Denies Support for Air Campaign". The Washington Times did better too, with a front-page banner headline, "House Refuses to Back Air War on Serbs: Separate Vote Denies Funds for Deploying Ground Forces." In the Vietnam era it took years for resistance in the House even to approach that level.

The Next War

Even before the Serbian war staggers to a conclusion, the opening shots of the next war are already being fired. That conflict, fought over the assignment of blame for the debacle of Operacione Futja Kot (Albanian for Operation All Fucked Up), will be bloody and terrible and will take place on several different levels.

Madeleine Albright is already taking heavy fire, which she and her faithful amanuensis Jamie Rubin detect as being inspired by arch-enemy Richard Holbrooke. Holbrooke, they claim, is directly responsible for the disaster by elevating the evil Slobodan to international respectability at the Dayton peace negotiations. Just before the first bombs fell, Albright dispatched Holbrooke to Belgrade on a last-minute peace mission, doubtless to embroil her enemy in blame for subsequent events. (Just to make sure he did not do something dangerous, such as broker a peace deal, she sent Rubin to tag along as a minder.) Now that his cosseting of the Balkan Hitler has led to war, the Albright/Rubin faction is complaining of Holbrooke's judicious avoidance of public support for the bombing. Indeed, Holbrooke has sedulously avoided being quoted on the breakout in the Balkans since the bombing began.

Holbrooke, for his part, has been reminding friends (truthfully) that he opposed Futja Kot. He has also been making clear his loathing of Albright and, especially, Rubin, publicly describing the latter in distastefully homophobic terms (entirely unmerited in Mr Amanpour's case). Lined up on the Albright side is the arrogant and pompous General Wesley Clark, NATO's Supreme Being, who chafes at Holbrooke's arrogance and pomposity.

Feder: *"Henry Kissinger insists NATO can't survive if it doesn't succeed. Who says NATO has to survive?"*

There is no doubt that the great powers will be drawn into this new war, i.e. the US military. Already, a plethora of on and off the record briefings detail the parlous state to which the military has been reduced over years of Clintonian stringency. In an extraordinarily frank interview on April 29, General Richard Hawley, chief of the Air Combat Command, spoke in piteous tones of an imminent shortage of various types of ammunition, complained of the administration's failure to prepare for the conflict, warned of growing maintenance problems and made it clear that his service is in no condition to take on another war elsewhere, such as Iraq or Korea.

Military sources confirm that Hawley, whatever his motives (more money) was telling the truth. So far as the Air Force is concerned, all experienced pilots and maintenance personnel have now been sent to the Balkans, which means that those units still uninvolved are in barely serviceable condition. Some NATO men attempted to blame the downing of least one F-16 over Serbia on this (it was actually hit by Serb anti-aircraft fire). Of course this state of affairs is entirely predictable, brought on by the military's refusal in recent years to spend money on spare parts and ammunition, rather than baroque artifacts such as the new F-22 fighter ($200 million each).

Two years ago the Pentagon finally "discovered" the readiness problem and demanded billions to fix it. They got the money of course, but the maintenance system had run down so far that it will be years before matters can be rectified. All of this has resonated with many anti-war Republicans, who have used the cries of the generals as an excuse to boost military spending by billions.

From Belgrade to Littleton

In his radio broadcast after the shootings in Littleton, Colorado Clinton said piously-amid celebrations of the violent NATO alliance-that "every one of us must take responsibility to counter the culture of violence. The government must take responsibility to counter the culture of violence. The government must take responsibility."

In terms of hypocrisy, this is on a par with Clinton telling little kids in a school in Anacostia to conduct themselves in an upright moral fashion not long before he was unzipping his pants for Monica L. There'll be further vindictive assaults on the rights of young people, who as usual will incur collective guilt. Meanwhile the obvious lesson-that war breeds violenceóis once again being carefully ignored. Watch the bombs fall and watch the indices of social violence here in the U.S., which had been dropping, begin to rise again. As Malcolm X said when JFK was assassinated amid rising U.S. commitment to the war in Vietnam: "The chickens are coming home to roost."

Apologies for what happened at Columbine High were mandatory for Marilyn Manson, video-game manufacturers, Hollywood, publishers of Mein Kampf, the Internet. The only people who apparently don't have to apologize are the U.S. military and their civilian overseers, who

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trained and paid the pilot dad of one of the teen killers; who sent F-16s over the funerals in Littleton; who are now pounding the Serbs each day and night; who mint the currency of violence.

In the aftermath of the Littleton shootings in Colorado there was collective determination among editorial writers to omit from possible motivating factors the U.S. bombing of Serbia. The typical editorial response was "keep guns out of the hands of troubled youngsters". Of course the institution most adept at putting guns into the hands of youngsters, many of them troubled, is the US military which insists on the right to accept teenagers at an age younger than most nations

People bicker endlessly about the effect splatter movies have on people. Doubtless the Dan Quayle candidacy will roll forward on this issue. Japanese films and tv offer blood-soaked stuff on a round-the-clock basis, but the level of social violence in Japanese society is exceptionally low. But one thing is indisputable. Wars are always accompanied by a rise in criminal violence on the domestic front. This applies both to the victorious and defeated countries.

The Boston Globe's editorial writer avoided the usual call for accelerated gun control, but emphasized the theme that "Adults should have noticed and intervened...Better to speak up and take the heat from a rebellious teenager or a defensive parent than to risk the eventual explosion of rage into bloodshed. This emotional war zone demands the attention of every community before there is gunfire."

How about the actual war zone? Bombing campaigns encourage the idea of invulnerability of the bombers, and the illusion of omnipotence. Not so far from Columbine High School in Littleton is Fort Carson

"The White House is in a complete panic over this. They are desperate to get out."

Army base, where they practice invading countries like Serbia. One of the families of the killers (two-parent, suburban) had a breadwinner retired from the military. This is Harris' dad, who apparently supervised war games with Eric and his friends in the backyard of their home. His mother works at a gourmet food shop. Mr. Klebold is a geophysicist and Mrs. Klebold works with the disabled. Klebold Jr. drove a BMW.

If the parents had been single mothers on welfare, or hippies, or in a small religious sect, we surely would have been inundated with preachments against single mothers, hippies and religious sects as trainers for mass murder. But there's been a certain embarrassment about the parents of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, who appear to have embodied the suburban American dream.

Commentators have fastened onto the fact that one of the two youths had a personal website "espousing an addled philosophy of violence". Those were the words of The New York Times' editorial writer, either Howell Raines or one of his stable. Yes, the same editorial team that espoused an addled philosophy of violence a few days earlier, suggesting that NATO "intensify the bombing" of Serbia. Perhaps nytimes.com was the website the kid actually had in his computer.

Strange are the ways of men! It seems like only yesterday that the New York Times was denouncing President Bill as a moral midget, deserving of the harshest reprobation for fondling Monica Lewinsky's breasts. And today here's the New York Times doling out measured praise to the same president for blowing little children in pieces.

The Times printed pictures of those dead refuges on its cover, bombed by one of NATO's aviators. Editorial page editor Howell Raines staked out the Times' official view that "For now, NATO must sustain and intensify the bombing". What a weird guy Raines must be. Kiss Monica's tits and he goes crazy. Bomb peasants and he shouts for more. ■

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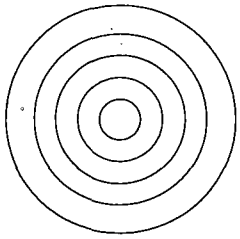
The War on Serbia



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